

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SAM-01 CIAE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-03

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3378

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY MADRID

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

USMISSION NATO

DIA WASHDC

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

C O N F I D E N T I A L LISBON 3900

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PO

SUBJ: SOCIALISTS COMTEMPLATE GIRDING FOR STRUGGLE

REF: LISBON 3875 AND 3895

SUMMARY: SOCIALISTS ARE DEBATING INTERNALLY THE APPROPRIATE RESPONSE TO AFM PLAN TO BYPASS PARTIES AND ESTABLISH PARALLEL ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE. INTERNAL PS DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTED JULY 10 CHARGES COMMUNISTS WITH RESPONSIBILITY FOR CURRENT POLITICAL CRISIS. DOCUMENT SAYS AFM PLAN IS UNACCEPTABLE; IT VIOLATES AFM PACT WITH PARTIES; IT DENIES DEMOCRATIC PATH TO SOCIALISM; AND IT REPRESENTS DIRECT ASSAULT UPON CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY. PS RANK-AND-FILE ARE URGED TO MOBILIZE TO DEFEND DEMOCRATIC PATH TO SOCIALISM IN ANTICIPATION OF LARGE POPULAR DEMONSTRATIONS. PS LEADERSHIP CONSIDERING FOLLOWING OPTIONS: PULL BACK AND ATTEMPT
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TO CONTROL "POPULAR ASSEMBLIES" UNDER AFM PLAN; GO

TO STREETS; BIDE TIME WHILE ECONOMY CONTINUES TO DETERIORATE;
OR LEAVE GOVERNMENT AND GO INTO OPEN OPPOSITION. SOARES
AND COMPANY WILL NOT FIND ANY OF THESE OPTIONS ATTRACTIVE.
IF THEY DO NOT TAKE A FIRM STAND SOON, HOWEVER, THEY MAY
NOT HAVE ANOTHER CHANCE. END SUMMARY

1. PS PONDERES RESPONSE: SOCIALISTS ARE IN MIDST OF INTRA-
PARTY DEBATE AS TO APPROPRIATE RESPONSE TO AFM PLAN BY PASSING
PARTIES IN ESTABLISHING DIRECT LINKS TO PEOPLE (REFTELS).
INTERNAL PS DOCUMENT DISTRIBUTED JULY 10 AND CARRYING MARIO
SOARES INITIALS MADE FOLLOWING POINTS:

- COMMUNISTS (PCP) ARE RESPONSIBLE FOR CURRENT POLITICAL
CRISIS; PCP IS BLOCKING PROGRESS TOWARD SOCIALISM WITH BEHIND
THE SCENES OBSTRUCTIONIST TACTICS.
- JULY 4 PCP-SPONSORED MOBILIZATION WAS ARTIFICIALLY
CONTRIVED ON BASIS OF FALSE ALLEGATIONS OF DIVISIONS WITHIN
REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL (RC) WHICH THREATENED COURSE OF
REVOLUTION.

2. PLAN ITSELF IS UNACCEPTABLE BECAUSE:

- IT VIOLATES PACT BETWEEN AFM AND PARTIES;
- IT REPRESENTS DENIAL OF DEMOCRATIC PATH TO
SOCIALISM PROCLAIMED BY REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL IN JUNE 21
POLITICAL ACTION PROGRAM;
- IT REPRESENTS FRONTAL ASSAULT UPON CONSTITUENT
ASSEMBLY;
- ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE ENVISAGED BY PLAN IS
BASED UPON SERIES OF ARTIFICIAL POPULAR ASSEMBLIES,
REMINISCENT OF "ASSEMBLIES OF PEOPLE OF GUINE" PROPOSED BY
GENERAL SPINOLA.

3. PS WILL NOT CEDE TO SUCH PCP-INSPIRED PRESSURES. FACED
WITH EFFORTS TO CREATE AN "EASTERN EUROPEAN-TYPE DICTATORIAL
AND BUREAUCRATIC REGIME," PS PROCLAIMS:

- APPROACH ENVISAGED BY PLAN IS NOT VIABLE.
- PLAN REPRESENTS PERVERSION OF SOCIALISM.
- APPROACH WILL OPEN ROAD TO COUNTERREVOLUTION.
- PS WILL HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH SINGLE-PARTY STATE
IMPLICIT IN AFM APPROACH.

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4. PS MUST THEREFORE TAKE FOLLOWING ACTIONS:

- MOBILIZE TO DEFEND DEMOCRATIC PATH TO SOCIALISM;
- ALERT PEOPLE TO TOTALITARIAN MANEUVERS,
CONSOLIDATING POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL UNITY OF PARTY
AND PREPARING FOR LARGE POPULAR DEMONSTRATIONS.

5. DOCUMENT CONTAINS POST-SCRIPT NOTING THAT IT IS
IN-HOUSE PAPER, PREPARED FOR PARTY MILITANTS WHO ARE

URGED TO HOLD MEETINGS THROUGHOUT COUNTRY TO ANALYZE SITUATION.

6. "REPUBLICA": ADDITIONAL PRESSURE ON SOCIALIST LEADERSHIP IS FACT THAT "REPUBLICA" REAPPEARED ON STREETS EVENING JULY 10, UNDER WORKERS RPT WORKERS CONTROL, WITH MILITARY ADMINISTRATOR.

7. REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL MEETING: AT ITS WEEKLY JULY 9 MEETING, REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL (RC) WAS IN SESSION FOR 14 HOURS, CONCLUDING 6:00 A.M. JULY 10. RELIABLE SOURCES REPORT THAT MAJOR CANTO E CASTRO LED AN ATTEMPT TO REMOVE PRIME MINISTER. MOVE WAS DEFEATED WHEN PRESIDENT CAME TO PM'S AID SAYING THAT SUCH A CHANGE AT THIS TIME WOULD BE DEVISIVE. SHORT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AT THE END OF MEETING INCLUDED FOLLOWING:

- SAID THAT "BATTLE FOR PRODUCTION" WAS THE PRIORITY ITEM FOR THE REVOLUTION AND REPUDIATED INDIVIDUALS (READ SOARES) WHO PUT OTHER GOALS FIRST.
- CALLED FOR REVOLUTIONARY DISCIPLINE IN AGRARIAN REFORM AND SAID LAND OCCUPATIONS OUTSIDE THE SPIRIT OF THE LAW WOULD NOT BE AUTHORIZED.
- NAMED THE ADMINISTRATIVE COMMISSION FOR "REPUBLICA".

8. COMMENT: AFM PLAN HAS DEALT SERIOUS BLOW TO SOCIALISTS AND OTHER DEMOCRATIC PARTIES. REAPPEARANCE OF "REPUBLICA" HAS PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECT OF RUBBING SOCIALISTS NOSES IN IT. OUR SOURCES INSIDE SOCIALIST LEADERSHIP HAVE INFORMED US THAT SOARES AND COMPANY ARE NOW CONTEMPLATING FOLLOWING OPTIONS:

- PULL BACK AND RELY UPON THEIR NATIONAL ORGANIZATION AND POPULAR SUPPORT TO ATTEMPT TAKE CHARGE OF POPULAR ASSEMBLIES;
 - GO TO STREETS AS SOON AS THEY CAN EFFECTIVELY
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ORGANIZE A CONVINCING SHOW OF STRENGTH;

- ADOPT TEMPORIZING STANCE, BIDDING THEIR TIME WHILE ECONOMY CONTINUES TO DETERIORATE IN EXPECTATION THAT CONDITIONS WILL BE MORE CONDUCTIVE TO ACTION AT SOME LATER DATE;
- LEAVE THE GOVERNMENT, ALONG WITH PPD, AND MOVE INTO OPEN OPPOSITION.

9. IN OUR VIEW, EACH OF THESE OPTIONS PRESENTS PROBLEMS FOR SOCIALIST LEADERSHIP -- AT BEST NOT DYNAMIC. IF THEY DO NOT TAKE A FIRM STAND SOON, HOWEVER, THEY RUN THE REAL RISK OF WATCHING THEIR STRENGTH EBB STEADILY AWAY. APPROVAL OF POPULAR ASSEMBLIES PLUS APPEARANCE OF WORKER-DOMINATED "REPUBLICA" PRESENTS SOARES WITH CLEAR CHALLENGE TO SURVIVAL OF HIS PARTY. IN PAST, HE AND SOCIALISTS HAVE

ALWAYS WAFFLED IN FACE OF SIMILAR CHALLENGES. THIS COULD BE
THEIR LAST CHANCE.
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